AN Epistle or letter of EXHORTATION VVRITten in Latyne by Marcus Tullius Cicero, to his brother Quintus the Proconsull or Deputy of Asia, wherin the office of a Magistrate is connyngly and wisely described.

Translated into englyshe by G. G.

Set furth and authorised according to the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions.

PRYNTED AT LONDON BY Rouland Hall, dwelling in Golding lane at the sygne of the three arrowes.

1561.

GODDRED GYLBY TO THE READER.

WHERE AS MEN are now a days here in England glutted as it wer with gods worde, & therfore almost ready to vomit vp again ỹ which thei haue receyued, lothing ỹ sermõs & despising the preachers, some turning to curious arts, & som cõtemning al artes & sciences, som Epicures, som Atheistes, & few or none do stand forth as fathers to vs yonglings to byd vs folow their fotesteppes in vertues and godlines: We the youth of this realme are drawen into diuers and sundrye doubtfull wayes and wandering bypathes, and many of vs by pouerty and other calamities are oppressed at our first breathing & either know not which way to directe our studies or els want helpe to go forwarde and are cut of in the fyrste

herbe accordyng to the Prouerbe. This is one thyng also that greueth vs: we see them that are wise and learned altogether contemned and despised, and thei often times are compelled to go and seke to the riche and noble mens houses, but the riche wyl not come to their houses nor greatly delyte in their companies. And thogh thys be some cause that ‡ Aristippus answered to Dionisius why the learned doe haunte the houses of the rich and the wise many times go ¶ seke to the wealthy and not they to the contrary: for that the wise doe knowe what the riche do want and the welthy worldlings can not se their want, as he saith. Yet in these our tymes we maye find other matters that cõpelleth thẽ to seke to such as be in power & autoritie. For iniquitie doth abounde in these latter dayes: and the poze ar oppressed by the mighty. And as I doe here mine elders talke.

Petrus Crinitus lib. 7. 14. de honesta disciplina.

talke. The lawes ar good to right the wronges, but lawyars do not their duties. Justice is good, but the Justyces care not for poore mens causes. Officers are enowe and wel prouided for in all places but these officers vnderstand not their office and duty or yf they do vnderstand it, they will not do it, & which is the worste of all, when thei do it not, thei may not be told of it, especially by a man that is learned in gods worde. For what cã he skyl of ciuil offices say these politike officers. Thus is the rule of all equitie openly contemned. Therefore not seyng wherevnto in this my youth I could direct my studies yet nether wher I cold be better occupied both for mine own learning, and for the instructiõ of such politike men as wil vochsafe to read heathen writters, though they regard not the scriptures: I haue trãslated as I could into our natiue language, the notable epi-

ſtle of that famous wiſe and poli-
tike man M. Tullius Cicero vn-
to his brother Quintus, wherein
iuſtice and the right vſe of an of-
fice is ſo wel and politikely deſcri
bed that the politike heades may
learne therby to put good things
in practiſe & nede nether to be aſha
med of the authour who was a
man of ſinguler wiſedom & great
experience, nor of the matter whi-
ch is an inſtruction of the Magi-
ſtrate meete for all ages: yf God
grant me any abilitie to expreſſe
it. Take theſe firſt fruits of mine
infãcie in good part, ſo & you ſhal
encourage me to farther trauails.
My father cõmãdeth me to folow
labour and to ſuffer others to ſeke
for honours. Fare you wel in
the Lorde. At London the
vii. of July, the yere
of our Lord.

1561.

The exhortacion

OF MARCVS TVLLIVS Cicero vnto hys brother Quintus.

ALTHOVGH I DID not dout but that both many messengers and also fame it self should by her swyftnes preuente my letters, and that thou shuldest sooner here tell of others that the thyrde yere was added to our desier & to thy labour: yet I thought it necessary that I shuld also send thee a message of this trauayle. For as for the former letters not in one but in many, when as now other men had despered of ỹ matter, yet I did put thee in hope that ỹ should shortly depart, not onely that I myghte comforte thee as longe as it myght be, with a plesant opinion and persuasion: but

also because I did not mistrust but that the matter might be brought to passe, for so muche as bothe I my self and also the Pretors were so earnest in the cause. But now because it is so come to passe that neyther the Pretors wyth theyr riches nor we wyth our diligence can doe any good, it is a very hard matter not to be grieued therewith: but yet it is not meete that our courage whych is exercised in doing and suffering greate things shoulde be broken or cast downe with sorrowe. * And because men ought to be most sorowful for those thynges which are come by theyr own faut: ther is good cause why it shuld more grieue me then the, for it came to passe by my faute otherwise then ỹ thoght, both whē thou tokest thy iourney and afterwarde where by letters thou didest go about ỹ a successor shoulde not be deteined to thee the firste yere. The which matter whiles I loke

* Mē shuld be most sory for that which cōmeth by their own faute.

loke to ẏ sauegard of our cõfedera tes whiles I resist ẏ impudency of certen merchãts & whiles I desire ẏ our glorẏ shuld be augmẽted by thy vertu I wrought nothig wise ly, & specially seing ẏ I haue com= mitted this faute that the second yeare shuld also brig ẏ third. The which thing because I confesse it to haue ben my faut, it belongeth to thy wisdom & humanitie to pro uide & to bring to passe that this which was vnwisely done of, me shuld by thy diligẽce be corrected. Now if thou do rase vp, thy selfe more earnestli and diligẽtly of all sides to get a good name so that ẏ do not now striue w̃ others but w̃ thi self and if thou do stirre vp thy whole mind care thoght & * desire of glorye which ouercometh all thigs sureli this one yere whiche is added to thy trauell shall bothe brig vs ẏ ioy of many yeres & also make our posterity glorious wher fore first I desire this of the ẏ ẏ be

* Desire of glory ouer cõmeth al,

not dyſcoꝛaged noꝛ diſcomfoꝛted and that thou ſuffer not thy ſelfe to be ouer whelmed wᵭ ouer great buſineſſe as it were wyth a floode but contrariwiſe that thou rayſe vp thy ſelfe and reſiſte it and alſo that thou wyllyngly ſet thy ſhulders agaynſt the weyght of thine affayꝛes: Foꝛ thou doeſt not rule that parte of the common wealth wherein foꝛtune hath muche power but ẏ part whych may be gouerned chiefelye by reaſon and diligence. And yf I dyd ſee that thy dominion and authoꝛitie had ben pꝛolonged to thee whileſt ẏ waſt occuppyd by ſome great and dangerous warre my heart woulde quake: to conſider that the power of Foꝛtune at the ſame tyme alſo ſhoulde be pꝛolonged agaynſte vs. But nowe ſynce ẏ parte of the common wealth is committed to thy charge in the which Foꝛtune either hath ſmall oꝛ els no parte of rule at all: euen that which ſe-

meth

meth vnto me wholly to consist in thy vertue & moderatiõ of minde. I thyncke we nede not feare any priuy traynes of enemyes, any open war, any rebelliõ and falling away of our felowes and confederates, any lacke of wages or prouision for corne, nor finally any sedicion of the army, which haue often chaunced to moste wise men: that as * shypmasters be thei neuer so connyng can not resist the force of ỹ tempest so they cold not withstand the violence of fortune But to thee is geuen the greatest peace and tranquillitie that can be, so that it is of force inough to ouerwhelme a shypmaister that slepeth but a wakyng gouernour woulde be delited therewith. For first the prouince doeth consist of such cõfederates as are of al kind of men most gentle: and secõdly of such kind of citezins as either because thei are publicans ar ioined vnto vs by very great frendshyp,

* The Magistrate is compared to a shipmaister.

or

or els because thei ocupy marchan
dise are very riche and iudge that
by the means of our consulshippe
their riches are in safetie. (But it
may be said) that euen amongest
this kind of men there are greate
controuersies many wronges are
done and waighty contentious a
rise. As though I shoulde thinke
that thou haddest nothing to do.
Yes I know that there is greate
matters to do and suche as neede
greate aduisement. But remem-
ber that I do attribute som thing
more in this busies to aduisemēt
then to fortune for what busynes
shal it be to bridle them which are
vnder thy gouernaunce if thou cā
bridle thy selfe? But let that be a
greate & hard matter vnto others
as it is very hard: yet to thee both
it hath bene allwaies very easye
yea & in dede ought to haue bene so
seing ẏ thy nature is such as seme
ẏ it wold haue ben moderat wout
learning: but now suche learning

is

is ioined with the good nature as were able to bring into order and beautify the worst dispositiõ that euer man had. Thou truely thy self shalt withstand the greedy desire of mony of pleasure and of all other things as in dede thou dost: & then shalt thou haue any greate to feare lest thou be not able to represse a wicked marchant or a couetous publicane:

As for the Grecians when they se thee so they will haue the in such admiration as they are wonte to haue som noble man mencioned in their chronicles or els they wil thinke that thou so diuine a man, art come downe from heauen into the prouince.

Whyche thynges I wryte not as thoughe I exhorted thee to doe them but that thou shoulde reioise that thou doest and hast doone them allready:

For it is an honorable thynge to haue hadde greate power in Asia

for

for the space of thre yeares and so to haue behaued thy self that no olde monument, no painted table no precious vessell, no riche apparell, no notable bondman, no beautie of any person and finally no bargē of mony of which thigs there is greate store in thys prouince could euer bring thee from the pathe of eracte integritie and continence. And surely what can be more notable or more to be desyred then that thys vertue thys temperaunce and moderation of mind, shuld not be hid in the dark but be set forth in the broad lyght of Asia and in the eies of a meske noble prouince and in the eares of all people & nations: * in so much as they are not made affraide by they iourneys: they men are not burdened with charges nor troubled with receiuing thee: but rather where so euer thou comest there is incomparable ioye bothe publikly and priuatly for so much as

* The presence of a good officer ought not to be terrible but comfortable.

as ỹ citie wher thou entrest dothe seme to haue receiued a defender and not a tyrant: the house were thou lodgest, a gest and not a robber: But as for these motters, vse it self hath taught that it is not inough that thou thy selfe shoulde haue these vertues but that thou ought to loke about diligently ỹ in ỹ preseruation of this prouince not onely thou but also all the ministers of thy dominion shulde be haue them selues after the same sort both towards our fellowes & citizens and also to all the cõmon welth. Howbeit thou hast such embasadours as will haue regard of their own worshipp: of whom Tubero is the chiefe both in honour dignitie & age: who I think (chifely becaufe he wryteth an hiftory) maye chuse many men out of hys owne chronicles which bothe he will and also may follow. But halenius is our owne bothe in heart and good will and also in following

ing

ing our kind of lif. And what nede I speake of Gratidius? Whom I know of a suerty so to care for his owne estimacion that for the brotherly loue towards vs he careth also for ours. Thou haste also a questor which was not chosen by thine owne iudgement but such a one as was giuen by lot. Whō it behoueth both of his owne accord to be moderate: & also to obey to thy wyll and commaundement. Of whome yf paraduenture any were some what couetous thou shuld beare so long wyth hym vntill he of his owne head did violat those lawes to the whych he is bounde not permitting ỹ he shuld abuse to lucre and gayn ỹ power which thou haddest committed to him for honour: for surely it pleaseth me not (chiefly seing that the maners of this time are so muche declined vnto so great lightnes & ambition) that thou shouldest searche out all filthines and examin

euery

euery one to the vttermoſt but to commit ſo muche to euery one of them as he may be truſted wyth-al. And amongſt thoſe whom the common welth it ſelf hath appoin ted to be as fellowes and helpers with thee thou ſhalt be aboue thē only in thoſe poits which I haue *heretofore preſcribed. As for thē whom thou haſt wyth thee either of thy houſholde or of the neceſſa ry meſſengers whom men vſe to call as it wer of the prætors band both the deds and alſo the words of theſe men * muſt be performed by vs. But thou haſte thoſe men with thee whome thou ſhalt haue occaſion to loue doyng wel, or els yf they haue not reſpecte to thy honour thou maiſt eaſely correct. Of whome becauſe thou waſt vn-erpart it ſemed that thy good na-ture might eaſely haue bene decei ued: *for the better a man is, the leſſe he ſuſpecteth another to be e-uil. But now this third yere hath

*That is to giue euery man that which he may be tru ſted withal
*The magi ſtrate muſt anſwere both for the words and dedes of their fa-milies and train whi-ch they chuſe to haue about them.
*The bet-ter a mā is the ſoner is he begyled

as much integritie as the two fo2 mer, yea & by experience is made mo2e ware and diligent.

*The cares of a magistrate.

* Let thyne eares be suche as may be taught to heare those thin gs which they heare in dede, not such as men mai whisper in falsely and faynedly fo2 lucre sake.

*The ring and signets

* Let not thy ring be an instrument not regarded but as thou thy selfe: Not a minister of another mans pleasure but a witnes of thy wyll.

*the serge ant & pursuant.

* Let the Pursuant also be in that degree in which our aunceters wold haue him which did giue ỹ office not as a benefite but as a labour & charge and dyd not rashly commit it to any, but to them whom they had b2ought to libertie, ouer whome yet they had authozitie litle lesse then ouer their seruaunts.

*the maces.

Let the Sergeant be a messenger not of hys but of thy gentlenes: * and let them beare those maces

maſes & pollaxes rather for a ſign of dignity thē of power. * Finally let it be known to al ẏ prouince ẏ ẏ ſauegard of ẏ families good name & ſubſtāce of al men ouer whō thou beareſt rule are moſte deare vnto thee. Yea & let them thinke on this, that * thou wilt not only be an enemye to them which take bribes, but alſo to them that giue bribes if thou know it. And ſurely no man will giue bribes when he doth once perceyue that nothing can be obteyned of thee by their meanes which make a ſhewe as thogh they could do much w̄ thee. Neither do my words tend to this end that I would haue thee ether to rigorous or ſuſpicious againſt thy officers: * For if there be any whiche for the ſpace of two yere were neuer ſuſpected of thee to be couetous (as I hear of Ceſius Cherippus & Labeo, & becauſe I know them I beleue it) there is nothing which I thinke thou maiſt not be

* the loue of ſubiects

* Bribe giuers and bribe takers.

* Of truſty officers.

bolde to commit to them or any other of like fidelitie. But if there be any in whom thou hast spied or of whom thou hast perceiued any thing: trust him with nothing nether commit to hym any parte of thine honor. * And if ẏ hast found any man in the prouince it selfe, which is all together become thy familier frende which was afore vnknowen vnto vs: loke diligent how much thou may truste hym: not but ẏ ther may be many good men in the prouince: but this mai be hoped for to iudge it, it is dangerous. For the disposition of the nature of euery mā is cloked with many foldes of dissemblyng and couered as it were with certayne veales: the forehead the eyes and countenaunce wyl deceyue a man often, * but the tong oftnest of al. wherfor how canst ẏ find such mē as being drawne with the lust of many would lack all those things frō ẏ which we cannot be seuered and

* Of newe frendes.

* The tōge of man.

and that ſhould hartily loue thee being a ſtraunger and would not rather ſeme to beare the good wil for ther owne profit ſake? It ſeemeth to me a great matter ſpecially ſince thoſe men do allmoſte loue no priuat men yet that they ſhoulde loue all they pretors. Of whiche ſort if thou haſte knowen any whiche loued thee more then the time (for ſo it might be) reken him gladly amongeſt thy friends. But if thou ſhalt not be ſure of ỹ there is no kind of men whoſe familiaritie thou oght more to *beware of becauſe they know al the ſhiftes of mony and do all things for mony yea and care not for his eſtimation wyth whom they intend not to leade their life. Yea & amongeſt the Grecians ſom familiarities muſt be auoided except of fewe men which follow ỹ maners of old Grecia. But many of thē are ſo deceitfull and vnconſtant & by their longe bondage haue ler-

*Beware of money men.

ned to muche flattery. Whom I would all to be liberally entertei-ned but a fewe of the beſt muſt be choſen for hoſpitalitie and frend-ſhippe. Their great familiaritie is not to be truſted (for they dare not be againſt our wils) yet they enuy both our contry men & their owne. But now ſince I will be ſo ware and ſo diligēt in ſuch thigs wherein I am afraid leſt I be to hard: how thinkeſt thou I would haue ſeruants ordred? Whom as in all places ſo chiefly in the prouinces we oght well to gouerne. Of which kind many things may be ſpoken: but this is both ſhor-teſt and may eaſily be kepte in me-mory that they do ſo behaue them ſelues in theſe iourneis in Aſya as though they were trauailing in the hye way called Appia And let them think ỹ ther is no diffe-rēce whither thei com to Tralles or to Formie. And if there be any of thy ſeruants very faithful let

*the charg of ſeruants

him

him haueÿ ouerſight of thy houſe hold & priuat buſines. But as for ſuch thinges as do apperteine to thy office & autority or to ani part of the common welth let him not once medle there with. For many thinges wherewith faithful ſeruants may be truſted yet for auoiding of ÿ ſpeeche of people & ill report ought not to be cõmitted to them. But I cannot tell how my folke is fallen to a kind of inſtruction wher as in ÿ begining I did purpoſe no ſuch thing. For what ſhuld I inſtruct him whõ I know in this matter to be as wiſe as miſelf & by reaſon of vſe more wiſe: But I though ÿ if ÿ auctoritie of my counſell were ioyned to thoſe thigs which thou doſt thi ſelf thei ſhoulde be more pleaſant to thee.

* Wherfore let theſe be the foundacion of thy dignitie firſt thy cõtinence & integrite ſecõdly ÿ ſhamfaſtnes of all them that are with thee (yea & loke thou very wearly

* the foundacion of true honor & dignitie

and diligently haue choise of familiarities aswell of men of the prouince as of the Grecians) & last of all a graue & constant order of thy house. Which things seing they are comely in these our priuat & daily orders: in so large a dominion which hath so corrupte maners & in a prouince that so easily corrupteth others they must needes seme diuine & heauenly. This gouernemēt & order mai vphold ỹ seueritie in makinge statutes and decrees whiche thou haste vsed in those thinges by ỹ which we haue purchased certein priuy grudges whereof I am very glad: Vnles ỹ think that I am moued with the complaints of one Paconius whō I knowe not what he is who is not so good as a Grecian but rather a Mysian or Phrygian or els with ỹ words of Tuscenius a vile and mad man out of whose filthy mouthe thou hast gotten w̄ great equitie a most shameful lust. But

we

we cānot ſuſteine theſe and other things which thou haſt decreed in this prouince ful of ſeuerity with out great tēperance of life. Wher fore loke ẏ there be great ſeuerity in iudgmēts * ſo ẏ it be not chaun ged for fauor but ẏ it be kepte e= quall and vpright. But ſurely it ſhal litle preuail if ẏ do iuſtice vp= rightly and diligently vnles the ſame be done of thy compartners to whom thou haſt granted ſome parte of ẏ office. And ſurely me think there is no great diuerſitie of buſines in gouerning Aſia but ẏ it doth only cōſiſt in giuing iuſt ſentence in the which the faſhion how to gouerne a prouince is eui dent. * Conſtancy alſo & grauity muſte be added which maye reſiſt not only fauor but alſo ſuſpicion. * Whereunto muſt be ioined pro= mptnes to heare gentilnes in diſ= cerning & finally diligence bothe in making and giuing anſwer & alſo in reaſoning. For theſe thigs

* Let not fauor per= uert iudge ment.

* Conſtācy Grauitie.

* Loue. Humanity Diligence.

*Octauius

*Cneius Octauius was of late very acceptable before whom the chiefe sergeant beinge pursuant and heralt held his peace and euery man spake as oft as he would: and as long as he woulde. In the which things he might paraduenture haue semed ouer gentle saue that this humaniti did mainteine that seuerity. The soldiours of Silla were constrained to render those things which they had take away by force and by feare & they which had made any iniust lawes whiles thei wer in office being depriued were cõstrained to obey to the same.

This his seueritie woulde seeme to sharpe vnles it had bene tempered with muche gentlenes and humanitie. And seing this gentlenes is so accepted at Rome where there is such pride, so immoderat libertie, so infinite licencioulnes of men and finally so many magistrats, so many aydes, such power such

ſuch authoꝛitie of the Senat how pleaſant ſhall the gentlenes of a Pꝛetor be in Aſia? In the which the great nũbꝛe both of Citizens & alſo confederates ſo many townes & cities do hang at one mans becke: where there is no aide to reꝛeſſe any rigour, no complaining no Senat, no aſſembling of ꝯ people. Wherfoꝛe ſeyng it is ꝯ point of a noble man & of one which euẽ by nature is moderat it appertaineth ſpecially to one which is inſtructed both in doctrine and alſo in the ſtudy of good artes ſo to behaue himſelfe in ſo great authoꝛitie that no other power nede to be required by them ouer whom he beareth rule. That famous man Cyꝛus which was deſcribed bi Xenophon not after the truthe of ꝯ hiſtoꝛy but foꝛ eꝛample of good gouernance: Whoſe grauity is ioined of that philoſopher with a ſingular gentlenes: Whoſe bookes Scipio the Affricane oure deare

friend

friende was not lightly wont nei ther without a cause to lay out of his hands for ther is no deinty of a diligent & moderat gouernemēt in them omitted. If Cyrus who knew he shulde neuer be a priuat man so diligently obserued these things wͭ what care oght they to kepe & obserue them which beare rule with this conditiō that they must depart from it againe and re turne vnder obediēce of those law es by order of ẏ which the gouer- uaunce was committed vntothē? *And surely me thinketh ẏ thys oght to be ẏ end of all things that the rulers shuld do. Namely that they which be vnder their domi- nion maye be as happy as is pos- sible: which thing is greatly com mended both by true report & also by all mens talk ẏ thou dost chief ly esteme it & hast so euer sence ẏ camest first ito Asia. And it is sure ly ẏ office not only of them whi- ch beareth rule ouer ẏ confedera-

*The feli- citie of the subiectes is the ende of gouerne ment.

tes

tes and citizens of Rome but also of him which hath ẏ charge of ser uants yea and of dome beastes to care foꝛ ẏ pꝛofit & vtilitie of them ouer whom he beareth rule. And I perceaue ẏ all men doe agree ẏ in such kind of things thou art as diligent as may be & that ẏ cities are charged wᵭ no new debte noꝛ impost but ẏ many townes ar by thee discharged of their old debte which was both great & greuous yea ẏ many which were fallen in decay & almost desolat are by thee restoꝛed of whō there is one most citie of Ienia & an other of Caria Samus & Halicarnassus: & ẏ ther is no dissension noꝛ discoꝛd in the cities: & that ẏ dost pꝛouide that ẏ cities be ruled by ẏ counsel of the nobles: that ẏ robberies of Mysia are taken away & murders in ma ny places are stopped & caused to cease & that peace is established ī the whole pꝛouince & not onely ẏ those thefftes which were cōmit-

ted

ted by ꝯ way ſide & in the fields ar ceaſed & put away but alſo many mo & greater theftes & murthers which were cõmitted in cities : & that falſe accuſation which is the moſt cruell ſeruant of the pꝛetoꝛs couetouſnes is taken away & re- moued from ꝯ fame & from goods and from ꝯ welthy quietnes of ri che men: ꝯ the coſtes & tributs of the cities are equally ſuſteined of all which inhabut ꝯ boꝛders of ꝯ ſaid cities: ꝯ one may eaſely haue acces to thee ꝯ thy eares are open to ꝯ complaintes of all men ꝯ no mans pouerty oꝛ miſery is not on ly not ſhut out from ꝯ common aſ ſemblies & from thy iudgement but not ſo much as from thi houſe and pꝛiuy chamber : & finally ꝯ in thy hole dominion ther is nothig greuous nothing cruell and that all things are full of clemẽcy mek nes & humanity. And ſurely how great a benefite is it ꝯ thou haſte deliuered Aſia(thogh we ſuſteine great

great grudge) from ꝯ iniuſt & gre uous tribut for & publike buil- dings: for if one noble man doe complain openly ꝯ thou haddeſt taken from him two hundred. M. pence becauſe ꝯ haddeſt cõmaun- ded ꝯ mony ſhuld not be appoyn- ted for commõ places: how much mony then ſhuld be paid if mony ſhuld be laid out for all them whi ch make plaies at Rome ꝯ which thing was alſo ordeined: Howe be it we haue ſuppreſſed theſe cõ plaints of our citizens moued wᵗ this counſell which I cannot tell how it is praiſed in Aſia but at Rome it is had in no ſmale reue- rence: becauſe ꝯ where as ꝯ cities had decreed mony for our churche and monument which thing thei had doone of their owne accorde both becauſe of my great deſerts and alſo for thy great benefytes: *yea & ꝯ law dyd ſpecially except that it ſhoulde be lawfull to take for a church or a mouument and

*the magi ſtrate may take mony of the ſub- iectes for the buil- ding of tẽ- ples and monumen tes.

becauſe

because that whyche was giuen
should not perishe but shoulde re-
maine in yornaments of ỹ church
so ỹ it should haue semed to haue
bene giuen not so much to me as
to the people of Rome and to the
immortall Gods: Yet I thought
that that in ỹ which the dignity
ỹ law yea and the will thē which
did it, did consist, ought not to be
receaued bothe for other causes
and also that they to whome it
was not dewe nor lawfull might
beare it more willigly. Wherfor
labour with all thy mind and dili
gence to kep ỹ trade which thou
hast as yet vsed that thou liue &
by al meanes defend them and stu
dy that they be as blessed as may
be whom the senat & the people of
Rome haue committed to thy po
wer & fidelitie and of whom they
haue giuen thee charge. And if so
be ỹ by lot thou haddest ben made
ruler of Africa or of Spaine or of
france which are fearce and bar-
barous

*The gouernour must be careful both for religion and iustice to make the people blessed.

barous people: yet it were a part of thy humanity to prouide for their commodity & to loke to their health and profit. But since we beare rule ouer ý kind of men in whom not only humanity it selfe is but also from whō it is thought to haue proceded to others we ogbt specially to shew humanitie to them of whom we receiued it for I will not be ashamed to say this (chiefly in that maner of life and in those noble actes in which there can no suspicion of sluggishenes or of lightnes remaine) ý we haue obteined these thynges which we haue gotten by those artes and studies which were giuē vs by moniments and doctrines of Grecia. * Wherefore besides ý common loyaltie & fidelitie which is due to al mē we seme to owe it chiefly to these men ý by whose precepts we haue bene taught among them we shoulde set forthe those things which we haue learned of them. And surely Plato the

Practise humanitie towards thē of whō we learne it.

* Whē shal realmes be blessed & happy.

prince both of wit and learnng thought * that then common welthes shuld be happy when either learned and wise men beginne to gouerne them or els when they which did gouerne thē did bestow all their study in learning and in wisdome. For he thought ỹ thys ioining to gether of auctoriti and wisdome was the preseruation of cities which thing perchance happened to all our common welthe but nowe surely it is chaunsed to this thy prouince that he shoulde beare chief rule therein, who had bestowed much time and diligēce euen from his youth in learning vertue and humanity. Wherfore see that this yere which is added to thi labor may also seme to haue ben added to the welthe of Asia: for Asia was more happy in retei ning thee thē we were in leading thee of thy iourney from vs but bring thou to passe that oure earnest desire mai be mitigated with the ioyfull remembrance of ỹ prouince

uince: for seig thou hast ben more diligent then any man in deserning that so great honours shuld be giuen thee, as I know not whither they were giuen to any besides, thou must nedes be a greate deele more diligent in mainteining these hounours. Nolwbeit I wrote to thee heretofore what I did iudge of this kind of hounours. * I thought them allwais yf they were common to be vile: yf they were ordeined by necessitie of time light: but if they wer giuē for thy deserts (as it is come to passe) I thoght that thou oghtest to be very diligent in mainteining of them: wherefore seing in those cities thou hast ỹ chiefe rule and power in ỹ which thou seest thy vertues consecrated and set in the nomber of the goddes thou must remember in al things which thou doest ordeine, which thou dost decree, and whatsoeuer ỹ dost what thou owest to so great hope which men hane conceiued of the,

* The right iudgemēt of honors.

likewise to the iudgements of mē and finally to so great honours. The which office is such ẏ thou must care for all men that ẏ geue remedies for the discommodities of men and prouide for their welth, as thou woldest both be called and counted the parente of Asia. But to this thy will and diligēce the publicanes are a greate hindrance: whom if we resist we shal seperate from oure frendship that company whiche hath doone very muche for vs and whiche by vs is ioined to the common welthe and not onely from our frendship but from the commō welthe also: but if we do in all points suffer them we shall suffer them vtterly to perishe for whose sauegard not only, but also for their profite we ought to care. This is the onelye difficulty, if we wil wey it a right that is in all thy dominion: for a man to be continent to bridle all his lustes to kepe vnder his owne housholde and to obserue equitie

in

in iudgement to shew himself rea
die to consider sutes to heare men
and to admit to his speach is more
glorious then harde. For it con=
sisteth not in any labor but in that
a man can finde in heart to do it.
* As for that business of the Pub=
licans how greuous it is to our fe
lowes we vnderstand of the citi=
zens which in pleding that ỹ tole
shoulde be taken out of Italy dyd
not so much complayn of the tole
as of certain iniuries done by the
tole gatherers. Wherefore I am
not ignorant what doeth chaunce
to our felowes in those far coun=
treys, since I haue heard in Italy
the complayntes of our citizens.
In this case so to behaue thy selfe
ỹ thou mayst both satisfie ỹ publi=
cans (specially seyng the thinges
of the cõmon wealth are but late=
ly recouered) and not suffer our fe
lowes and confederates to perish
requireth a diuine vertue whiche
is thine. And first of al as for that
which is most greuous to the Gre

* The publi cans and tolle ga= therers are commõlye extorcio= ners.

cians ẏ thei are tributaries ought not to seme so greuous forsomuch as before they were subiect to the people of Rome by their own ordinances thei were so. As for the name of a publican thei can not reiect it seing that wout a publican thei cold not pay ẏ tribute which Silla did equaly apoint thē. Yea & it mai be wel knowen ẏ ẏ grecias are no gētler in gatherig of their tributs thē our publicās by this ẏ al ẏ Cauniās now of late fled out ẏ iles, which wer assigned of Silla to ẏ Rodiās, to ask helpe of ẏ senat desiring rather to pay tribute to vs then to ẏ Rodiās: wherfore nether ought they to abhorre ẏ name of publicās which wer alwais tributaries: nor thei reiect it which cold not of them selues pay tribute: nor thei refuse it which dyd require it. Yea & let Asia remēbre this thing ẏ if it wer not holdē vp w̄ this gouernmēt ẏ it shuld lacke no miserie which cā com either by war w̄ farren naciōs or ẏ cometh by

by inwarde discordes. * But seing that this gouernment cã not be retained wout tribut let her willingly be cõtent for a litle part of her fruts to redeme perpetual peace & quietnes. And if so be ỹ thei cã willingly abide ỹ name & cõpanye of publicãs all other things which ỹ dost by coũsel & wisdom shall seme more easy to thẽ: yea & thei mai in makig of theic berges haue respect not to ỹ law of ỹ Censors but rather to ỹ cõmoditie of doing their: busines & to ỹ deliuerãce frõ grief. yea & ỹ maist do ỹ which ỹ also hast done very wel & at this time dost, to wit, that ỹ tel thẽ what dignity is in ỹ publicans & how much we are boũd to that cõpany that setting aside authoritie and force of powre & scepter ỹ maist ioyne the grecians and publicans together in fauour & authoritie. Yea & desire this of thẽfor whõ thou haste done so much, & which are bound to thee in all thinges that they by their gentleues woulde suffer vs

* wherfore tribute is geuen.

to kepe & preserue ẏ frēdship which we haue wͭ the publicās: but what do I exhort to thee these thinges which ẏ canste not onely of thyne owne accorde do wͭout any mans teaching but also hast for the most part already done thē: for most honest & the greatest felowships doe not cease dayly to thanke vs: the which thing was therefore more pleasant to me because that ẏ grecians do it. But it is a hard matter to ioyne those things together in one accord which are diuers in cōmodities in profite & almost by nature. And surely I haue writtē those things which are writtē aboue not to teach thee (for thy wisdom nedeth no instruction of any man) but the rehearsal of thy vertew when I wrote dyd delyte me: Althoughe I haue longer in these letters then I woulde or then I thought I shuld haue bene There is one thing which I wold not cease to cōmaūde thee nor wil suffer thee so much as in me lyeth

*to

*to be praised w̄ an acception: for all that come out of thy prouince do so repoꝛt of thy vertue integritie & humanitie ẏ in thy greatest prayses they except only wrathe: the which vice as it semeth *to be ẏ point of a light & vnstable minde in a customable & priuate kinde of life: *so nothing is more vncomely then to ioyne bitternes of nature to hie authority: wherfore I wil not now vndertake this to declare vnto thee those thigs which are spoken of most wise men concerning wrath both because I wil not be ouerlonge & also because ẏ maist easly know it by many mēs writings. Neither thinke I ẏ we ought to let passe that which is ẏ propertie of a letter, to wit, ẏ we let him to whom we write know those things whereof he is ignorant. Yea and al bring vs word of this that there is none more pleasant then ẏ whē angre is absent: *but if any mans wickednes and peruerse maners doe moue thee

*A prayse with an exceptacion.

*Wrathe the signe of a light mynde.

* Nothing is more vncomely thē to ioyne bitternes of nature to authoritie.

*wrath. baniſheth all humanitie.

then ỹ art so angry ỹ all men find lack of humanity in thee: wherfor seing we ar com into this kind of liuing not so much for desire of glory as by ỹ thig it self & by ỹ course of fortune that ỹ posteritie shulde alwais talk of vs: let vs beware as much as in vs lieth & asmuche as we cã do ỹ no notable vice be reported to haue ben in vs. Neither yet go I about this (which as in al ages so especially in our age it is a hard matter) to change ỹ mind & if any thing be thorowly growne in our maners suddẽly to pluck it away: but I do admonish thee here of ỹ if ỹ cãst not altogether auoide this vice because angre doth take place in thy mind before ỹ reason cã prouide for it: that ỹ shuld afore prepare for thy self & euer more remẽbre that ỹ must resist wrath: & when as it doth moste moue thee then ỹ oghtest most diligently to *bridle thy tonge: whiche semeth somtimes to be no les vertue then not to be angrie at al, for to be angrie

*A remedy agaynst wrath.

*Rule thy tonge.

grie is not only a point of grauity but somtime also of gētlenes: but to tēper ỹ mide & talke whē a mā is angrie or els to kepe silēce & to hold in thine own powre ỹ mociō of thi mīd & grief, although it is not ỹ point of perfit wisdō it is a point of no smal wit: & herin thei bring word ỹ art much more easly & gentle: nether do we hear of any more greuous mociōs of ỹ minds or despitful words which ar both far distāt frō lernig & humanitie & also cōtrary to auctoritie & dignitie for if the wrath can by no meanes be appeased it is to great bitternes: but if it mai be easely entreated it is great lightnes *: which for al ỹ (as choise mai be in euill things) *ought to be chosen before bitternes. But because in the first yere there was muche talke of this I thinke because that ỹ iniuries of men their couetousnes & pride did chance cōtrary to thine opinion & did seme intollerable: & the secōde was much more gentle because ỹ both

*Of two euils the lesse is to be chosen.

*It is better to be to gētle then to cruell.

both custom & reasō & (as I thinke euen my letters) did make thee pacient & gentle: as for ẏ third yere it oght so to be amended ẏ no mā maye haue occasion to rebuke the least thing ẏ may be. But now I do not handle the matter wͭ thee by ẏ way of exhortaciō & precepts & teaching but by brotherly prayers that ẏ̈ wouldest set thy whole minde care & thought to gather & win ẏ praise & cōmendation of all men on euery side. Now if so be ẏ our matters stode ī ani mean state of talk & cōmendation: I would require no notable thīg norani thīg of thee aboue the cōmon custom. But now because of the dignity & greatnes of those things in ẏ which we haue ben occupied vnles we get wōderfull great praise of this prouince I cā not se how we cā auoide wōderful great rebuke and shame, for such is our state that al good men do both fauour it & also require & loke for al diligence and vertue at our hāds: but al wicked men

An olde officer muste so growe in vertue that he must be altogether fauteles.

men because we haue takē in hād a perpetuall battell against them should be content vpō very smal occasion to put vs to rebuke. Wherfore since ẏ this stage whereupon we stād is filled w̄ the celebrity of al Asia, & in quātitie is ẏ greatest in iudgement, the best learned, & by nature so far soūdyng that the voices & signes ar broght to rome I besech thee labour & do thy diligēce that ẏ may not only seme to haue ben worthy those things but also to haue ouercom al things by thy cunning. And because that I amōg other kinde of officers haue obteyned ẏ administration of the common wealth in the citie, and thou the gouernaunce in a prouince, although my parte do geue place to no man, yet loke that thy part ouercome all other: remember that we do not striue of ẏ glory that remaineth & is loked for, but for that that is gotten already which was not so necessary to haue bene desyred as it is mete it

ſhould nowe of vs be mainteined. And if ſo be that I might be ſepe-rate frō thee in any thing I wol deſire no more then this ſtate which I haue already obteyned. But nowe the matter goeth ſo that vn leſſe all thy wordes and dedes doe agre with the thynges which we do. Here I ſhall thynke my ſelfe to haue gotten nothyng by my ſo great labours and ſo greate dan-gers of all the which thou haſte bene partaker. But ſeyng thou aboue all others haſt helped vs to get great renowne: ſurelye thou ought to labor aboue all others to preſerue the ſame. For thou muſt not only haue the eſtimaciōs and iudgemēts of thoſe men which ar now liuing, but alſo of thē which ſhalbe hereafter. * How be it their iudgemēt ſhalbe more right ſeing it is fre frō ſlaunder & il wil. Fina-ly ȳ ought to thinke thus ȳ thou doeſt ſeke glorye not only for thy ſelfe: ȳ which thyng though thou diddeſt yet thou wouldeſt not con-temne it, eſpeciallye ſeyng that

* We iudge more equal ly of them that are de parted be-cauſe to-wardes thē enuy ceaſeth.

thou haſt conſecrated the memory of thy name amongeſt wonderful great monuments. But this thy glorye muſt be communicat with me, yea and deliuered to our children. Wherin thou muſt beware leſt if thou be negligent thou doe not only ſeme to haue cared lytle for thy ſelf, but alſo to haue enuied thy frēds & kinſfolk. Nether do I ſay this ꝑ my words ſhuld ſeme to awake thee which afore diddeſt ſlepe but rather to haue pricked thee forward which afore didſt run for ꝑ wilte always do that which thou haſte done, that al men may prayſe thy iuſtice, temperancie, ſeueritie and integritie.

But an infinite deſire of glory doeth wholly poſſeſſe me for the ſingular loue which I beare to thee. Nowbeit I thinke thus ꝑ Aſia is now as wel knowē to thee as euery mā knoweth his own houſe, & ſince ꝑ to thy great wiſdō ſo good experiēce is ioyned I thinke there is nothing which doth appertaine

to

to praise which thou dost not. wel se & which thou dost not daily very well remēbre wout any mans exhortacion. * But I because ỹ whē I reade thy letters me thynke I speake w̄ thee, am most delited w̄ thy longest letters & I am oftē times very lōg my self in writing. Now last of al I desire and exhort thee to this that as good poets & as cūning plaiers do so that thou in the last part & cōclusiō of thine office and busines be as diligent as may be that this thirde yere of thy gouernmēt may seme to haue ben most perfect & most adorned as though it were the thirde act in a comodie, the which thinge ỹ shalt easly bryng to pas if ỹ thinke ỹ I (whom alone ỹ rather dost please then al others) am al wais w̄ thee and present in al things which either thou dost or sayest. Now it remaineth to desire thee that if thou loue me & wouldest haue al thyne to doe well thou haue regarde to thine owne health and welfare.

* Loue causeth longe letters.

* Good officers muste be like good poetes.

FINIS.